793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala [622] permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 622 66 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in the case. Their help is of importance because (although this is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 662 634 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known, the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 634 648

602 /12δ cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
661 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
643 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
● 666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits. 203 666 624 596

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren. 778 565 574

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar. 872 346 494 198 435 212